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MILITARY ORDERS AND SOCIAL HISTORY: SOME INTRODUCTORY THOUGHTS¹

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One of the main attractions of the military religious orders is their diversity. Religious military orders were so many things at once: Military institutions, centres of economic power, aristocratic corporations, manifestations of medieval spirituality – and, of course, military religious orders constituted social groups. This introductory sketch will focus on the military orders from the standpoint of social history, the latter being understood in a wide sense of the word, thus entailing both vertically structured groups – that is hierarchical entities in a social and an institutional sense – and horizontally structured groups – that is in a social and a geographical sense. By opening up such wide a panorama some major fields and methods of research might be outlined in order to better situate the following contributions of these proceedings.

Let us begin with a horizontal category – that of space. One could without a doubt follow the so called “spatial turn” and analyse the military orders’ relation to symbolic space, their spiritual localization or mental maps, and such a project would well be worthwhile². Instead however, I prefer to apply the physical categories town and countryside in order to spatially categorise the diverse activities the military orders

¹ This article provides the slightly updated text of the introduction presented in February 2010 in Palmela, with only the most necessary footnotes.

² DÖRING, Jörg / THIELMANN, Tristan (ed.), *Spatial turn: das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften*, Bielefeld, 2008; WARF, Barney / ARIAS, Santa (ed.), *The spatial turn: interdisciplinary perspectives* (Routledge studies in human geography 26), London, 2009.

deployed within the social field. The last quarter of the 20th century, a great deal of energy was invested in studying the presence of the military orders in the Latin West on a regional or local level. Many monographs or other studies were published which identified and analysed the economic background, the land holdings and the other possessions of one specific house or one administrative unit. France, Italy and Spain in particular have produced many such works. The general interest in material aspects of human life and the upsurge of economic history in the second half of the twentieth century were two bases for such studies. But one should also point at the academic tradition of regional micro-studies created or fostered by the school of the *Annales*, a tradition readily picked up in liberal circles of medievalism in neighbouring countries. This modern form of micro analysis merged with older traditions of regional studies or *Landesgeschichte*, to use the appropriate Germans term³.

As major landholders, the military religious orders had a strong impact on the living conditions of the rural population under their rule. But notably, social studies on the military orders rural population do not abound. Mostly, particularly within Iberian research, investigation has centred on the economic aspects of land ownership, identifying and quantifying the respective houses' resources. A field well worth studying might be the regulation of everyday life within the orders feudal rural estates. For example, the *cartas de franquicia* in Aragón provide interesting and hitherto not systematically fathomed source material which needs studying⁴. Borderlands such as those handed over to military orders on the Iberian peninsular, in the Crusader States and in the Baltic were areas which needed to attract settlers with help of privileges⁵. The orders as landholders thus not only formed new social, but also new juridical groups within their dominions.

³ CLARK, Stuart (ed.), *The annales school: critical assessments, 4 vols*, London, 1999; BURGUIERE, André: *L'école des Annales: une histoire intellectuelle*, Paris, 2006.

⁴ FONT RIUS, José María, *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña: introduccion, diplomatario, presentacion monografico-local e indices* (Escuela de Estudios Medievales. Textos 17), Madrid, 1969; FONT RIUS, José María, *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña 2: Estudio. Apéndice al Vol. 1* (Anuario de estudios medievales. Anejo 12), Madrid, 1983; LEDESMA RUBIO, María Luisa, *Cartas de población del reino de Aragón en los siglos medievales*, Zaragoza, 1991; MARTÍNEZ SOPENA, Pascual, «La doble frontera. Hispanos, francos y musulmanes en los fueros y cartas de población de los siglos XII y XIII», in Klaus HERBERS / Nikolas JASPERS (ed.), *Grenzräume und Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich. Der Osten und der Westen des mittelalterlichen Lateineuropas* (Europa im Mittelalter, Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur historischen Komparatistik 9), Berlin 2007, p. 145-172.

⁵ WENSKUS, Reinhard, «Der Deutsche Orden und die nichtdeutsche Bevölkerung des Preußenlandes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Siedlung», in Walter SCHLESINGER (ed.), *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters als Problem der europäischen Geschichte: Reichenau-Vorträge 1970 - 1972* (Vorträge und Forschungen 18), Sigmaringen 1975, p. 417-438; EDBURY, Peter W. (ed.), *Crusade and settlement: presented to R. C. Smail* (Papers read at the conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East 1), Cardiff, 1985; MURRAY, Alan V., «Ethnic identity in the crusader states: the Frankish race and the settlement

Equally difficult to grasp, but particularly intriguing is the relation between the military orders and non-Latin or non-Christian vassals and rural workers, a case that occurred in the Crusader States, in southern Italy, in the Baltic and on the Iberian peninsular. The longevity of autochthonous Slavic and Baltic groups in the Teutonic order state has been underlined⁶; more notable still are the rural Muslim communities on the Iberian Peninsula. Filomena Barros touched upon this special relation here at Palmela ten years ago, and Clara Almagro extends our view for the case of the Order of Calatrava and its Muslim vassals in this collection of essays⁷. Turning to the Crusader States, some glimpses can be attained despite the sources' notorious dearth: Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie's close reading of the Templar statutes has brought some insights into the knights'

of Outremer», in Simon N. FORDE / Leslie Peter JOHNSON / Alan V MURRAY (ed.), *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, Leeds 1995, p. 59-73; RODRÍGUEZ-PICAVEA MATILLA, Enrique, *Las órdenes militares y la frontera. La contribución de las Órdenes a la jurisdicción territorial de Castilla en el siglo XII* (Encomienda. Serie Estudios 1), Madrid, 1994; ELLENBLUM, Ronnie, *Frankish rural settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1998; PRINGLE, Denys, *Fortification and settlement in crusader Palestine* (Variorum collected studies series 675), Aldershot, 2000; AYALA MARTÍNEZ, Carlos de / BURESI, Pascal / JOSSERAND, Philippe (ed.), *Identidad y representación de la frontera en la España medieval (siglos XI-XIV). Seminario celebrado en la Casa de Velázquez y la Universidad autónoma de Madrid, 14-15 de diciembre de 1998*, Madrid, 2001; HACKMANN, Jörg / LÜBKE, Christian, «Die mittelalterliche Ostsiedlung in der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft», in Jan M. PISKORSKI (ed.), *Historiographical approaches to medieval colonization of East Central Europe: a comparative analysis against the background of other European inter-ethnic colonization processes in the Middle Ages* (East European monographs 611), Boulder, Colo. 2002, p. 179-217; PISKORSKI, Jan M. (ed.), *Historiographical approaches to medieval colonization of East Central Europe: a comparative analysis against the background of other European inter-ethnic colonization processes in the Middle Ages* (East European monographs 611), Boulder, Colo. 2002; PISKORSKI, Jan M., «The Medieval Colonization of Central Europe as a Problem of World History and Historiography», *German History*, 22, 2004, p. 323-343; ELLENBLUM, Ronnie, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories*, Cambridge, 2007; JASPERT, Nikolas, «Grenzen und Grenzräume im Mittelalter: Forschungen, Konzepte und Begriffe», in Klaus HERBERS / Nikolas JASPERT (ed.), *Grenzräume und Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich. Der Osten und der Westen des mittelalterlichen Lateineuropas* (Europa im Mittelalter, Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur historischen Komparatistik 9), Berlin 2007, p. 43-70; VERCAMER, Grischa, *Siedlungs-, Sozial- und Verwaltungsgeschichte der Komturei Königsberg in Preußen (13.-16. Jahrhundert)* (Einzelschriften der Historischen Kommission für Ost- und Westpreußische Landesforschung 29), Marburg, 2010.

⁶ FAVREAU-LILIE, Marie-Luise, «Mission to the heathen in Prussia and Livonia: the attitude of the religious military orders toward christianization», in Guyda ARMSTRONG (ed.), *Christianizing peoples and converting individuals* (International medieval research 7), Turnhout 2000, p. 147-154; BRAUER, Michael, *Die Entdeckung des 'Heidentums' in Preußen: die Preußen in den Reformdiskursen des Spätmittelalters und der Reformation* (Europa im Mittelalter 17), Berlin, 2011.

⁷ BARROS, Maria Filomena Lopes de, «A Ordem de Avis e a minoria muçulmana», in Isabel Cristina Ferreira FERNANDES (ed.), *Ordens militares: guerra, religião, poder e cultura; actas do III Encontro sobre Ordens Militares, Palmela, 22 a 25 de Janeiro de 1998 2* (Colecção Actas colóquios 17), Lisboa 1999, p. 167-174; cf. The article by Clara Almagro in this volume.

treatment of Muslim slaves and labourers, and Ronnie Ellenblum's archaeological and geographical surveys have further enhanced our tableau⁸.

As opposed to this general interest in economic affairs, the members of the military orders in the rural houses have not been investigated all too often. Generally, studies into the social history the military orders have centred on one group within these institutions – that is the knights. But a closer look reveals that even here, truly prosopographical research on the respective orders' brethren has been conducted relatively seldom, as many regional monographs suffice with listing the knights without really laying out their social context or elaborating common characteristics of a historical group with the help of multiple career-line analysis. Some laudable exceptions however have convincingly shown the knights' interconnection with regional aristocratic elites. The Teutonic Order has been the main object of research in the last thirty years, one need only mention Lutz Fenske's important study on the *Ritterbrüder in Livland* or Dieter Woytecki's and Klaus Scholz's pioneering studies on the *Personengeschichte des Deutschen Ordens*⁹; more recently, Southern France has become a particularly well studied area, as Domenic Selwood, Jochen Schenk, Thomas Krämer and Damien Carraz have presented important work¹⁰ which has found its counterpart in Philippe Josserand's fundamental study on

⁸ RONNIE ELLENBLUM, Frankish rural settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (cf. note 5); FAVREAU-LILIE, Marie Luise, «"Multikulturelle Gesellschaft" oder "Persecuting Society"? "Franken" und "Einheimische" im Königreich Jerusalem», in Dieter Bauer / Klaus Herbers / Nikolas Jaspert (ed.), *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter. Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung - Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen* (Campus Historische Studien 29), Frankfurt am Main 2001, p. 55-93.

⁹ SCHOLZ, Klaus, *Beiträge zur Personengeschichte des Deutschen Ordens in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts: Untersuchungen zur Herkunft livländischer und preußischer Deutschordensbrüder*, Münster, 1971; WOYTECKI, Dieter, *Studien zur Personengeschichte des Deutschen Ordens im 13. Jahrhundert* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa 3), Wiesbaden, 1971; FENSKE, Lutz (ed.), *Ritterbrüder im livländischen Zweig des Deutschen Ordens* (Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte 12), Köln, 1993; NEITMANN, Sonja, *der Grafschaft Mark nach Livland: Ritterbrüder aus Westfalen im livländischen Deutschen Orden* (Beiheft 3), Köln, 1993.

¹⁰ SELWOOD, Dominic, *Knights of the cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania c. 1100 - c. 1300*, Woodbridge, 1999; KRÄMER, Thomas, «Der Deutsche Orden in Frankreich - ein Beitrag zur Ordensgeschichte im Königreich Frankreich und im Midi», in Hubert HOUBEN (ed.), *L'Ordine Teutonico nel Mediterraneo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio, Torre Alemanna (Cerignola) - Mesagne - Lecce, 16-18 ottobre 2003*, Galatina 2004, p. 237-276 – cf. the forthcoming publication of his PhD thesis: Ritteroden und Weltklerus in "Südfrankreich" und "Süddeutschland". Fallstudien zu Konflikten und Konfliktbewältigung in Provence/Languedoc und Franken; CARRAZ, Damien, *L'ordre du Temple dans la f (1124-1312): ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales* (Collection d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales 17), Lyon, 2006; SCHENK, Jochen G., «Forms of lay association with the Order of the Temple», *Journal of Medieval History*, 34, 2008, p. 79-103; SCHENK, Jochen, «Aspects of non-noble family involvement in the Order of the Temple», in Judi UPTON-WARD (ed.), *On land and by sea: papers from the fourth conference on the military orders* (The Military Orders 4), Aldershot, Hampshire 2008, p. 155-161, and forthcoming; SCHENK, Jochen, *Templar*

Castile and which should be emulated in areas with similarly dense records such as Catalonia, Aragon and Valencia¹¹. In this volume, António Pestana de Vasconcelos provides a closer view of the social career of such a *freire*¹².

Much more difficult to grasp than the knights, but undoubtedly just as important from the point of view of social history, were the sergeants within the military orders. Recently, work by Alan Forey, Jochen Schenk, Carlos de Ayala Martínez and others have reminded us that in many orders, the lesser fighting members formed the majority of the orders' brethren, at least from the 13th century onwards¹³. In comparison to the knights, the sergeants' biographies appear much less frequently in the sources; all the more needy are collections of biographical data which should ultimately lead to prosopographical studies. As these men were mostly of non-noble birth, they constituted a specific social group within the orders which deserves to be treated and investigated as such. Sergeants were recruited from labourers, farmers, craftsmen and skilled artisans and played a major role not only as sergeants at arms in the military field, but also as sergeants at service within the administration of the estates. In southern France for example, by identifying not only individual sergeants, but also their relationships and connections, Jochen Schenk could show that the sergeants formed family networks that not only enabled admission to certain members, but also promoted their rise within the houses' hierarchy¹⁴.

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Does the same hold true for the military orders' urban houses, a second area of research on the social history of the orders that requires attention? It is no coincidence that an entire congress has lately been dedicated to the subject of *Les ordres religieux*

Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, c. 1120-1307 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Fourth Series), Cambridge, 2011.

¹¹ JOSSERAND, Philippe, *Eglise et pouvoir dans la péninsule ibérique: les ordres militaires dans le royaume de Castille (1252 - 1369)* (Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velazquez 31), Madrid, 2004.

¹² cf. The article by António Pestana de Vasconcelos in this volume.

¹³ AYALA MARTÍNEZ, Carlos de, «The sergeants of the military order of Santiago», in Helen J. NICHOLSON (ed.), *Welfare and Warfare* (The Military Orders 2), Aldershot 1998, p. 225-233; FOREY, Alan, «Rank and Authority in the Military Orders During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries», *Studia Monastica*, 40, 1998, p. 291-327; Jochen SCHENK, Aspects of non-noble family involvement in the Order of the Temple (cf. note 10); FOREY, Alan John, «Notes on Templar personnel and government at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries», *Journal of Medieval History*, 35, 2009, p. 150-170.

¹⁴ Jochen SCHENK, Aspects of non-noble family involvement in the Order of the Temple (cf. note 10).

militaires dans la ville medievale.¹⁵ What was the specific relation between military orders and mediaeval towns? Traditionally, church history has distinguished two ecclesiastical institutions believed to be particularly relevant to the urban setting: parish churches and mendicant convents. Jacques Le Goff's famous *programme-questionnaire pour une enquête* of 1968 greatly contributed to a highly questioned image of urban regular institutions¹⁶. Research has since underlined that already prior to the coming of the mendicants, the 12th century urban take-off attracted novel forms of regular life to the growing urban centres. The canons for example often founded houses within urban settlements and contributed to the forming of their urban environment well before the mendicants¹⁷. Changes in religious thought had their impact in this field, as the reform of canonical life that initiated in the middle of the 11th century illustrates. This movement took a twofold shape: it was either notably eremitical in character, best exemplified by the beginnings of Order of Prémontré¹⁸; or Canons Regular constructed their houses in towns or close to them, taking

¹⁵ The volume will be published in 2012, edited by Damien Carraz. The following sections (II and III) are developed in more detail in: Nikolas Jaspert, *Military Orders and Urban History – An Introductory Survey*, *ibidem*.

¹⁶ LE GOFF, Jacques, «Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain dans la France médiévale: L'implantation des ordres mendiants. Programme-questionnaire pour une enquête», *Annales ESC*, 23, 1968, p. 335-352 and LE GOFF, Jacques, «Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale», *Annales ESC*, 25, 1970, p. 924-946; see also: GUIDONI, Enrico, «Città e ordini mendicanti. Il ruolo dei conventi nella crescita e nella progettazione urbana del XIII e XIV secolo», *Quaderni Medievali*, 4, 1976, p. 69-107; ELM, Kaspar (ed.), *Stellung und Wirksamkeit der Bettelorden in der städtischen Gesellschaft* (Ordensstudien 2), Berlin, 1981. On the reception of this paradigm see: CABY, Cécile, «Les implantations urbaines des ordres religieux dans l'Italie médiévale. Bilan et propositions de recherche», *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 1999, p. 151-179, 153-160; VAUCHEZ, André, «Les ordres mendiants et la ville dans l'Italie communale (XIII - XVe siècles): quelques réflexions vingt-cinq ans après», in Sophie CASSAGNES-BROUQUET / Amaury CHAUOU / Daniel PICHOT / Lionel ROUSSELOT (ed.), *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge: mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin*, Rennes 2003, p. 191-199.

¹⁷ PICARD, Jean-Charles (ed.), *Les Chanoines dans la ville: recherches sur la topographie des quartiers canoniques en France*, Paris, 1994, particularly 15-33; exemplary: NOIZET, Hélène, *La fabrique de la ville: espaces et sociétés à Tours, (IXe - XIIIe siècle)* (Histoire ancienne et médiévale 92), Paris, 2007, 405-413. Prior to this: BOCCHI, Francesca, «Monasteri, canoniche e strutture urbane in Italia», in *Istituzioni monastiche e istituzioni canonicali in Occidente (1123 - 1215). Atti della settima Settimana di Studio, Mendola 28. agosto - 3 settembre 1977* (Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore: Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 9), Milano 1980, p. 265 - 316; GARZELLA, Gabriella, «La proprietà frazionata nella gestione immobiliare di un ente monastico pisano (secoli XII-XIII)», in Olivier FARON / Étienne HUBERT (ed.), *Le sol et l'immeuble: les formes dissociées de propriété immobilière dans les villes de France et d'Italie (XIIe - XIXe siècle)* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 206), Rome 1995, p. 169-184, who has also dealt with the military orders in an urban setting: CECCARELLI LEMUT, Maria Luisa / GARZELLA, Gabriella, «Ordini militari in una città di mare: Ospitalieri e templari nella Pisa medievale», in Franco CARDINI / Isabella GAGLIARDI / Giuseppe LIGATO (ed.), *Cavalieri e città: atti del III Convegno internazionale di studi, Volterra, 19-21 giugno 2008*, Ospedaletto (Pisa) 2009, p. 53-68.

¹⁸ *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII. Atti della 2a settimana internazionale di studio dei Mendola* (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 4), Milano, 1965; BECQUET OSB, Jean, «Chanoines réguliers et érémitisme clérical», *Revue d'Histoire de la Spiritualité*, 48, 1972, p. 361-370, also published in BECQUET, Jean

on obligations in the cure of souls and anticipating similar functions on the part of the mendicants¹⁹. André Chédeville therefore pointedly termed the Canons Regular *Proto-Mendicants* with respect to their activities in towns in Brittany²⁰. The return to the *Vita apostolica* of the First Christian community which the Canons Regular advocated implied an active life within society. Thus, long before the emergence of the mendicant orders, the

(ed.), *Vie canoniale en France aux Xe - XIIIe siècles* (Variorum reprint / CS 220), London, 1985; MILIS, Ludo, «Érémistes et chanoines réguliers au XIIe siècle, transition ou trahison?», *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 22, 1979, p. 39-80; MILIS, Ludo, «L'évolution de l'érémisme au canoniceat régulier dans la première moitié du douzième siècle: Transition ou trahison?», *Istituzioni monastiche e istituzioni canonicali in Occidente (1123 - 1215). Atti della settima Settimana di Studio, Mendola 28. agosto - 3 settembre 1977* (Publicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore: Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 9), Milano 1980, p. 223-239; MELVILLE, Gert, «Von der Regula regularum zur Stephansregel. Der normative Sonderweg der Grandmontenser bei der Auffächerung der vita religiosa im 12. Jahrhundert», in Hagen KELLER / Franz NEISKE (ed.), *Vom Kloster zum Klosterverband. Das Werkzeug der Schriftlichkeit. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums des Projekts L 2 im SFB 231 (22.-23. Februar 1996)* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 74), München 1997, p. 342-363.

¹⁹ SCHMALE, Franz Josef, «Kanonie, Seelsorge, Eigenkirche», *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 78, 1959, p. 38-68; BOSL, Karl, *Regularkanoniker «Augustinerchorherren» und Seelsorge in Kirche und Gesellschaft des europäischen 12. Jahrhunderts* (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse. Abhandlungen. NF. 86), München, 1979 – criticized rightly by Stefan Weinfurter: WEINFURTER, Stefan, «Bemerkungen und Corrigenda zu Karl Bosls 'Regularkanoniker und Seelsorge'», *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 82/83, 1981, p. 381-395; BYNUM, Caroline W., *Docere verbo et exemplo. An aspect of twelfth - century spirituality* (Harvard Theological Studies 31), Washington, 1979; AVRIL, Joseph, «Recherches sur la politique paroissiale des établissements monastiques et canoniaux (XIe - XIIIe siècle)», *Revue Mabillon*, 59, 1980, p. 453-517; JASPERT, Nikolaus, *Stift und Stadt. Das Heiliggrabpriorat von Santa Anna und das Regularkanonikerstift Santa Eulàlia del Camp im mittelalterlichen Barcelona, 1145-1423* (Berliner historische Studien 24, Ordensstudien 10), Berlin, 1996; FONSECA, Cosimo Damiano, «Constat. monasterium esse tam canonicorum quam et monachorum. Le influence monastiche sulle strutture istituzionali delle Canoniche e delle Congregazioni canonicali», in Hagen KELLER / Franz NEISKE (ed.), *Vom Kloster zum Klosterverband. Das Werkzeug der Schriftlichkeit. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums des Projekts L 2 im SFB 231 (22.-23. Februar 1996)* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 74), München 1997, p. 239-251, 239-251; MORAN, Josep, «La prédication ancienne en Catalogne. L'activité canoniale», *La Prédication en Pays d'Oc (XIIe-début XVe siècle)* (Cahiers de Fanjeaux. Collection d'histoire religieuse du Languedoc au XIII. et XIV. siècles 32), Toulouse 1997, p. 17-35; ARNOUX, Mathieu, «Les origines et le développement du mouvement canonial en Normandie», in Mathieu ARNOUX (ed.), *Des clercs au service de la réforme: études et documents sur les chanoines réguliers de la Province de Rouen* (Bibliotheca Victorina 11), Turnhout 2000, p. 11-171, 96-105, 330-345; MIERAU, Heike Johanna, *Vita communis und Pfarrseelsorge: Studien zu den Diözesen Salzburg und Passau im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter* (Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht 21), Köln, 1997, 271-285, 337-422; FONSECA, Cosimo Damiano, «La pastorale dai monaci ai canonici regolari», *La pastorale della Chiesa in occidente dall'età ottoniana al Concilio Lateranense IV: atti della Quindicesima Settimana Internazionale di Studio Mendola, 27 - 31 agosto 2001*, Milano 2004, p. 3-26; PICASSO, Giorgio, «Vita comune del clero e azione pastorale. Sulle origini di un canone intransigente», in Giancarlo ANDENNA / Hubert HOUBEN (ed.), *Mediterraneo, Mezzogiorno, Europa: studi in onore di Cosimo Damiano Fonseca*, 2 vols., Bari 2004, p. 829-837. The dilemma between eremitical and urban life is well laid out by VEYRENCHÉ, Yannick, «Une abbaye chef d'ordre face à deux cités: les chanoines réguliers de Saint-Ruf à Avignon et Valence», in Julien THÉRY (ed.), *Moines et religieux dans la ville (XIIe - XVe siècle)* (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 44), Toulouse 2009, p. 79-106.

²⁰ CHEDEVILLE, A., «Les chanoines augustins en Bretagne au XIIe siècle: des proto-mendicants?», in Sophie CASSAGNES-BROUQUET / A. CHAUCOU / D. PICHOT / L. ROUSSELOT (ed.), *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin*, Rennes 2003, p. 133-144.

canons targeted the expanding towns. The same holds true for other religious institutions traditionally dissociated from the urban sphere. Studies by Cécile Caby for example have underlined, that even eremitical forms of religious life such as the Congregation of Camaldoli in Italy sometimes sought the proximity of the town in a process known as *inurbamento*²¹. The urban side to Cistercian history, too, has rightly been brought to light by recent studies. Admittedly, Cistercian monasteries usually were physically separated from urban settlements, but they nevertheless were related to them. More importantly, the Cistercians acquired townhouses which served as relay points and communication centres between monastery and town. The German *Stadthöfe* and their respective counterparts in other countries have been well studied and their multiple functions have been brought to light²². Most recently, a number of the Cahiers de Fanjeaux on « Moines et religieux dans la ville » has summarized the multiple ties between of religious of different hues and the urban setting²³. It is within this wider framework of urban religious institutions that the houses of the Military Orders must be set. An attachment to an urban environment was particularly important for institutions such as the Order of St John and the Teutonic Order

²¹ CABY, Cécile, *De l'érémisme rural au monachisme urbain: les Camaldules en Italie à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 305), Roma, 1999, 205-391; Cécile CABY, Les implantations urbaines des ordres religieux dans l'Italie médiévale (cf. note 16).

²² SCHNEIDER, Reinhard, « Stadthöfe der Zisterzienser: zu ihrer Funktion und Bedeutung », *Zisterzienser-Studien*, 4, 1979, p. 11-28; COMBA, Rinaldo, « I cistercensi fra città e campagne nei secoli XII e XIII », *Studi storici. Rivista trimestrale*, 26, 1985, p. 237-262; BENDER, Wolfgang, *Zisterzienser und Städte: Studien zu den Beziehungen zwischen den Zisterzienserklöstern und den großen urbanen Zentren des mittleren Moselraumes (12. - 14. Jahrhundert)* (Trierer historische Forschungen 20), Trier, 1992; SYDOW, Jürgen, « Zur "Stadtpolitik" der mittelalterlichen Zisterzienser. Beobachtungen und Bemerkungen », *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweig*, 106, 1995, p. 121-131; GRILLO, Paolo, « Il "desertum" e la città: cistercensi, certosini e società urbana nell'Italia nord-occidentale dei secoli XII-XIV », in Rinaldo COMBA (ed.), *Certosini e cistercensi in Italia: (secoli XII - XV)* (Storia e storiografia 26), Cuneo 2000, p. 363-412; BUCHWALD, Doris, « Die Stadthöfe der Zisterzienserklöster Eldena, Neuenkamp und Hiddensee in Stralsund, Greifswald, Goldberg und Plau; ihre Funktionen und Bedeutung », in Claudia KIMMINUS-SCHNEIDER (ed.), *Klöster und monastische Kultur in Hansestädten: Beiträge des 4. wissenschaftlichen Kolloquiums Stralsund, 12. bis 15. Dezember 2001* (Stralsunder Beiträge zur Archäologie, Geschichte, Kunst und Volkskunde in Vorpommern 4), Rahden/Westf 2003, p. 121-138; RÖSENER, Werner, « Die Stadthöfe der Zisterzienser im Spannungsfeld der Stadt-Land-Beziehungen des Hochmittelalters », in Claudia DOBRINSKI (ed.), *Kloster und Wirtschaftswelt im Mittelalter* (MittelalterStudien des Instituts zur Interdisziplinären Erforschung des Mittelalters und seines Nachwirkens 15), München 2007, p. 85-99; BERMAN, Constance Hoffmann, « Monastic Hospices in Southern France and Colleges in Montpellier, Toulouse, Paris, and Oxford: The Cistercian Urban Presence », *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 102, 2007, p. 747-780; GRÉLOIS, Alexis, « La présence cistercienne dans les villes du Midi: un investissement limité? », in Julien THÉRY (ed.), *Moines et religieux dans la ville (XIIe - XVe siècle)* (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 44), Toulouse 2009, p. 167-188.

²³ *Moines et religieux dans la ville (XIIe - XVe siècle)* (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 44), Toulouse, 2009 and particularly the excellent introductory overview: BÉRIOU, Nicole, « De l'histoire des ordres à l'histoire urbaine. Moines et religieux dans la ville (XIIe - XVe siècle) », en Julien THÉRY (ed.), *Moines et religieux dans la ville (XIIe - XVe siècle)* (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 44), Toulouse 2009, p. 13-30.

– that is for those orders that combined military service and charitable work. The need for hospitals was greatest in an urban setting, as the well-known cases of Jerusalem and Acre show, where the Military Orders' houses formed pivotal centres within the local network of charitable institutions²⁴; but in other areas too, the brethren's care for the needy drew them into – or close to – the towns.

In most cases, the Military Orders formed part of a group of ecclesiastical institutions situated within a single town or in the immediate surroundings, enjoying the rights and privileges of their respective order, but without holding feudal lordship. As such, they contributed to and profited from urban expansion in much the same way other urban institutions of their time did. However, the Military Orders' contribution to urban development still remains underexposed, in spite of some important work such as several studies on Southern France²⁵. Admittedly, recent archaeological work conducted in Germany and Switzerland by Armand Baeriswyl has shown the importance of the Military Orders for suburban development in the so-called *Gründungsstädte* in South-Western regions of the German Empire²⁶; but these contributions are still exceptional.

As urban landholders, the knights also contributed to real estate development – for example by leasing plots of land with the obligation to erect houses. Emphyteutic grants *ad construendum domos* – or *ad faciendum domos* are not uncommon in the Mediterranean area, where the extant charter evidence is more abundant than in other regions. Commanderies thus became focal points of urban development and formed quarters

²⁴ DICHTER, Bernard, *The orders and churches of Crusader Acre*, Acre, 1979; KEDAR, Benjamin Zeev, «A twelfth-century description of the Jerusalem hospital», in Helen J NICHOLSON (ed.), *The military orders 2: Welfare and warfare*, Aldershot 1998, p. 3-26; PRINGLE, Denys, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus 3: The City of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 2007, 192-207, 215-217 (Jerusalem) and PRINGLE, Denys, *The churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: a corpus Vol. 4: The cities of Acre and Tyre*, Cambridge, 2009, 82-116, 12-123, 131-136, 161-164 (Acre); PRINGLE, Denys, «The layout of the Jerusalem Hospital in the twelfth century: further thoughts and suggestions», in Judi UPTON-WARD (ed.), *On land and by sea: papers from the fourth conference on the military orders* (The Military Orders 4), Aldershot, Hampshire 2008, p. 91-110.

²⁵ Dominic SELWOOD, *Knights of the cloister* (cf. note 10) and review: CARRAZ, Damien, «Templiers et hospitaliers en France méridionale (XIIe-XIIIe siècles). À propos d'un ouvrage récent», *Provence Historique*, 50, 2000, p. 207-237; CARRAZ, Damien, «Les ordres militaires et la ville (XIIe-début du XIVe siècle): l'exemple des commanderies urbaines de la basse vallée du Rhône», *Annales du midi. Revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France meridionale*, 114, 2002, p. 275-292; Damien CARRAZ, *L'ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône* (cf. note 10).

²⁶ BAERISWYL, Armand, «Die Deutschordenskommende in Könitz bei Bern. Mit einigen Überlegungen zu Form und Funktion von Konventsanlagen im Deutschen Reich», in Thomas BILLER / Georg Ulrich GROBMANN (ed.), *Burgen kirchlicher Bauherren* (Forschungen zu Burgen und Schlössern 6), München 2001, p. 193-203; BAERISWYL, Armand, *Stadt, Vorstadt und Stadterweiterung im Mittelalter: archäologische und historische Studien zum Wachstum der drei Zähringerstädte Burgdorf, Bern und Freiburg im Breisgau* (Schweizer Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Archäologie des Mittelalters 30), Basel, 2003.

oriented towards the convents, with all the social implications this conferred. Laure Verdon's work on town planning and urbanisation in Perpignan, Damien Carraz's work on the Provence or Laureà Pagarolas' study on Tortosa have illustrated how this process could take place²⁷. A point in case is Acre, where the military orders' quarters formed marked areas as the War of Saint Sabas showed dramatically in the 13th century²⁸. Thomas Krämer's and Antonella Pelletieri's articles in these proceedings offer further insights on the military orders as urban institutions on a comparative level²⁹.

An as yet unwritten urban history of the military orders would also imply studying the varying relations between the different ecclesiastical institutions within medieval towns. During the orders' initial phase, conflict frequently arose with the parish-churches over the cure of souls and other controversial issues, particularly over burial rights. Rudolf Hiestand has delineated how the Military Orders acquired papal privileges in the course of the 12th century that conferred a series of parish rights to the brethren, despite staunch resistance on the part of the bishops, and local studies have shown how long the burial tithes and other forms of income remained a controversial issue that periodically marred the relations between the orders and other ecclesiastical institutions³⁰. This is well known. But a

²⁷ VERDON, Laure, «La seigneurie templière à Perpignan au XIII^e siècle», in Noël COULET / Olivier GUYOTJEANNIN (ed.), *La ville au Moyen Âge: Congrès National des Sociétés Historiques et Scientifiques, (120^e, Aix-en-Provence, 23 - 29 octobre 1995), Section d'Histoire Médiévale et de Philologie, vol. 2* (Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques 35), Paris 1998, p. 221-228; VERDON, Laure, «Le quartier de Saint-Mathieu de Perpignan: un exemple de la croissance d'une ville au XIII^e siècle», in Louis ASSIER-ANDRIEU (ed.), *La ciutat i els poders. Actes del Col·loqui del Huitième Centenaire de la Charte de Perpignan, 23/25 octobre 1997*, Perpignan 2000, p. 99-107 (centred on the social composition of the quarter); the basis for historical work has now been substantially improved: TRETON, Rodrigue (ed.), *Diplomatari de Masdeu, 5 vols* (Fundació Noguera. Col·lecció Diplomatari 52-56), Lleida, 2010. PAGAROLAS, Lluís, *La comanda del Temple de Tortosa, primer període (1148-1213)*, Tortosa, 1984; LUTTRELL, Anthony T, «Emphyteutic grants in Rhodes town, 1347-1348», en Manuel Juan PELAEZ ALBENDEA (ed.), *Papers in European Legal History = Trabajos de derecho histórico europeo* (Estudios interdisciplinarios en homenaje a Ferran Valls i Taberner con ocasión del centenario de su nacimiento 5), Barcelona 1992, p. 1409-1416; Damien CARRAZ, *L'ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône* (cf. note 10), 255-283; CARRAZ, Damien, «Les ordres militaires et le fait urbain en France méridionale (XII^e - XIII^e siècle)», in Julien THERY (ed.), *Moines et religieux dans la ville (XII^e - XV^e siècle)* (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 44), Toulouse 2009, p. 127-166, 135, 138-141.

²⁸ CARO, Georg, *Genua und die Mächte am Mittelmeer 1257-1311: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des XIII. Jahrhunderts Bd. 1*, Halle a. S., 1895, 28-43, 69-76; Denys PRINGLE, *The churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: a corpus Vol. 4* (cf. note 24), 82-116 and 166-172.

²⁹ cf. the articles by Thomas Krämer's and Antonella Pelletieri in this volume.

³⁰ HIESTAND, Rudolf, *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificius 1: Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl. III 77), Göttingen, 1972; HIESTAND, Rudolf, *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificius 2: Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl. III/ 135), Göttingen, 1983; RICHARD, Jean, «Le paiement des dîmes dans les Etats des croisés», *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 150, 1992, p. 71-92; BARBER, Malcolm, *The new knighthood: a history of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge, 1994,

diachronic study of intra-ecclesiastical urban relations necessarily needs to focus on the changing relations between the ecclesiastical institutions. Toward the beginning of the 14th century for example, the urban houses of the military orders were of course no longer novel institutions, on the contrary: together with other established forms of religious life such as urban Benedictine monasteries, houses of Regular Canons and parish churches they formed a group united by common social and economic interests. As such, they sometimes saw the need to associate against new competitors such as the mendicant orders³¹.

To put an Iberian example: In Barcelona, the beginning of the 14th century saw embittered legal fighting between the town council and leading families on the one side and urban convents on the other over specific modalities of the urban rental system for emphyteutic grants, fighting that led to the expulsion of clerics and the interdict being laid on the town³². The specificities might not be of too much interest here – the problem derived from the separation between *dominium utile* and *dominium directum* over landed estate and the height of the payments due to the owner or the possessor of a plot of land when this was sold or sublet³³. What is of interest in our context though is the fact that the divide did not run neatly between the lay urban population on the one side and the ecclesiastical institutions on the other. Rather, the ecclesiastics opposed to the municipal council formed a group that comprised the parish clergy, Benedictine monasteries, houses of Canons Regular and the convents of the Hospitallers and Templars – institutions which at the turn of the 14th century could well be considered well established and even traditional. Younger forms of religious life on the contrary such as the mendicants took the side of the town council, to which they were united by both common interests and parental ties. As other historians – such as José Marques in a contribution on Setúbal in Portugal –

6-63; HIESTAND, Rudolf, Templer- und Johanniterbistümer und -bischofe im Heiligen Land, in Zenon H. NOWAK (ed.), *Ritterorden und Kirche im Mittelalter* (Ordines Militares 9), Toruń 1997, 143-161; VONES, Ludwig: «„contra episcopalem auctoritatem multa praesumunt.“. Die Entwicklung des Verhältnisses des Templer- und des Johanniterordens zur Bischofsgewalt in den Ländern der Krone Aragón bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts», in Zenon H. NOWAK (ed.), *Ritterorden und Kirche im Mittelalter* (Ordines Militares 9), Toruń 1997, p. 163-192; RODRÍGUEZ PICAUEA MATILLA, Enrique, *Monjes guerreros en los reinos hispánicos: las órdenes militares en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media*, Madrid, 2008, 437-441; Damien CARRAZ, Les ordres militaires et le fait urbain (cf. note 27), 146-147.

³¹ DOSSAT, Yves, «Opposition des anciens ordres à l'installation des mendiants», in *Les mendiants en pays d'Oc au XIII^e siècle* (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 8), Toulouse 1973, p. 263-306, particularly 272-273 (mendiants et réguliers), p. 285-287.

³² Nikolas JASPERT, Stift und Stadt (cf. note 19), 196-211.

³³ CARRERAS CANDI, Francesc, *Notes sobre los orígenes de la enfiteusis en lo territori de Barcelona*, Barcelona, 1910.

have shown, such conflicts between councils and Military Orders were in no way limited to the Medieval Crown of Aragon³⁴.

In the twelfth century, the situation had been very different, as urban elites fostered the military orders. In certain cases, entire towns and town councils even came into being thanks to the military orders, as urban settlements prospered within the orders' seigneurial estates thanks to privileges issued by the knights³⁵. Military Orders in Spain, Portugal, and particularly in the Baltic acted as founders of settlements and towns. The famous *Kulmer Handfeste* is only the best known text issued in favour of a nascent urban centre by a military order³⁶: On the Iberian Peninsular, we can encounter a similar situation, as the famous *cartas de población*, *cartas de franquicia* and *fueros* in Castile and Aragón illustrate³⁷: Here too, privileges conveyed by the military religious orders' led to the creation of communal institutions and town councils, a very particular case for the relation between Military Orders and urban history that might also have been relevant to the Crusader States, even though the scarcity of extant sources prevents us from elaborating this point. Thus, though the role of the military orders for the creation of urban centres cannot compare with that of certain major Benedictine monasteries, it is far more important than that of later orders and was indeed considerable in certain border areas of Latin Christendom. A related case is the town of Rhodes under Hospitaller rule, or the *capitula Rhodi* issued by the order, as Anthony Luttrell has shown in his magisterial study³⁸. The Teutonic Order State however also provides an excellent example as to how

³⁴ MARQUES, José, «A Ordem de Santiago e o Concelho de Setúbal em 1341», *Revista de história (Porto)*, 13, 1995, p. 11-33; Damien CARRAZ, *Les ordres militaires et le fait urbain* (cf. note 27), 144. See also on a more general level: HECKER, Norbert, *Bettelorden und Bürgertum: Konflikt und Kooperation in deutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters* (Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 23, Theologie 146), Bochum, 1981, 98-110, 166-176; BERG, Dieter (ed.), *Bettelorden und Stadt, Bettelorden und städtisches Leben im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (Saxonia Franciscana 1), Werl, 1992, 107-179.

³⁵ KREEM, Juhan / MONNET, Pierre, «Privilèges municipal», in Nicole BÉRIOU / Philippe JOSSERAND (ed.), *Prier et combattre: dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2009, p. 741-743.

³⁶ Apart from the Baltic cases mentioned in continuation, see: GONZÁLEZ JIMÉNEZ, Manuel, «Privilegios de los Maestres de Alcántara a Morón de la Frontera», *Archivo hispalense*, 70, 1987, p. 3-46.

³⁷ LACARRA, José M., *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro*, 2 vols. (Textos medievales 62/63), Zaragoza, 1982; María Luisa LEDESMA RUBIO, *Cartas de población del reino de Aragón* (cf. note 4); BARQUERO GOÑI, Carlos, «Aportación al estudio de la repoblación santiaguista en La Mancha: cartas de población de Villacañas de Algodor y de Villaverde (año 1248), y capítulos de población de Argamasilla de Alba (años 1545 y 1563)», in *Repoblación y Reconquista: actas del III Curso de Cultura Medieval*, Aguilar de Campóo, Palencia, España 1995, p. 169-178; RUIZ GÓMEZ, Francisco, *Los orígenes de las órdenes militares y la repoblación de los territorios de La Mancha (1150 - 1250)* (Biblioteca de historia 54), Madrid, 2003; Pascual MARTÍNEZ SOPENA, *La doble frontera* (cf. note 4); Enrique RODRÍGUEZ PICAVEA MATILLA, *Monjes guerreros en los reinos hispánicos* (cf. note 30), 345-355.

³⁸ LUTTRELL, Anthony, *The town of Rhodes: 1306-1356*, Rhodes, 2003, p. 230-238. See also the *Pragmaticae Rhodi* representing the fully developed regulations that ruled urban life at the eve of Rhodes' fall: SARNOWSKY, Jürgen, «Pragmaticae Rhodiae. Die Landgesetzgebung der Johanniter auf Rhodos», *Sacra militia*, 2, 2001, p. 5-24.

this initially symbiotic relation could deteriorate over time, as the councils acquired growing independence up to the point of allying against their lords. Initially, the far-reaching privileges conferred by the Teutonic Order were attractive to new settlers and guaranteed a certain degree of social tranquillity. But as time went by, the economic interests of the citizens tended to clash more and more often with the political and economic interests of the brethren. The merchants naturally saw regional powers such as the Hanseatic League or the Scandinavian monarchies as political and economic interlocutors, while the Teutonic order strove to maintain its position as an economic power of its own right. Juhan Kreem's study on Reval, a volume edited by Udo Arnold in 1994 and recent research conducted by Roma Czaja have enhanced our knowledge on the gradual loss of the order's grip over its towns in Prussia and Livonia³⁹, and Riga is an even more prominent case in point for this phenomenon, which might well be analysed with more detail on the Iberian Peninsula⁴⁰.

III

This leads us to the third field of research. The changing relation between the orders' urban houses and social groups within the town also requires diachronic research, research that should not only underline the decrease of support such as illustrated in the case of Barcelona or Setubal, but also study the reasons for the houses prolonged and generally harmonious presence within the urban setting despite all societal and spiritual changes. How could it come about that the Utrecht Bailiwick of the Teutonic Order not

³⁹ ARNOLD, Udo (ed.), *Stadt und Orden. Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den Städten in Livland, Preußen und im Deutschen Reich* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 4), Marburg, 1993; KREEM, Juhan, *The town and its Lord: Reval and the Teutonic Order (in the fifteenth century)* (Tallinna Linnaarhiivi toimetised 6), Tallinn, 2002, 134-179; CZAJA, Roman, *Miasta pruskie a Zakon Krzyżacki: studia nad stosunkami mie?dzy miastem a władza? terytorialna? w późnym sredniowieczu*, Toruń, 1999; CZAJA, Roman, «Preußische Hansestädte und der Deutsche Orden. Ein Beitrag zu den Beziehungen zwischen Stadt- und Landesherrschaft im späten Mittelalter», *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 118, 2000, p. 57-76; CZAJA, Roman, «Die städtische Geistlichkeit in den Auseinandersetzungen der preußischen Städte mit dem Deutschen Orden im 15. Jahrhundert», in Ansgar KÖB / Peter RIEDEL (ed.), *Emotion, Gewalt und Widerstand: Spannungsfelder zwischen geistlichem und weltlichem Leben in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (MittelalterStudien des Instituts zur Interdisziplinären Erforschung des Mittelalters und seines Nachwirkens, Paderborn 9), Paderborn 2007, p. 129-138.

⁴⁰ HELLMANN, Manfred, «Der Deutsche Orden und die Stadt Riga», in Udo ARNOLD (ed.), *Stadt und Orden: das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den Städten in Livland, Preußen und im Deutschen Reich* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 4), Marburg 1993, p. 1-33; BRÜCK, Thomas, «Riga in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts: Das Verhältnis der Stadt zum Orden, zum Erzbischof und zur Hanse», in Norbert ANGERMANN (ed.), *Städtisches Leben im Baltikum zur Zeit der Hanse: zwölf Beiträge zum 12. Baltischen Seminar* (Schriftenreihe Baltische Seminare 10), Lüneburg 2003, p. 43-92.

only lived on right into the reformation period, but also was allowed to remain catholic long after other ecclesiastical institutions had been forced to adopt the new confession? A recently concluded thesis by Daniela Gröger-Schiemann has answered this question, but the history of the military orders' urban social setting during the late Middle Ages is still largely unwritten⁴¹.

Such a feat can only be accomplished by an in-depth examination of the multiple social ties between religious houses and social groups. Here once again prosopographical research is the base for future studies. The members of the respective orders' urban houses need to be identified both biographically and socially, in order to uncover deeper interests and connections beneath and behind the activities of individuals. Only on this basis can the relation between benefactors and economic partners on the one hand and the brethren on the other be fully understood. Recent studies like those of Alain Demurger, Elena Bellomo or Damien Carraz have shown how rewarding it can be to reconstruct personal networks between the orders' houses and their surroundings⁴². The orders' priests in particular and their position within both social and ecclesiastical structures remain widely unknown. We are not that badly off when it comes to the Teutonic order, where some priests could acquire important positions within the secular church⁴³. But for most of the military orders, interest has been concentrated very much on the lay element within the order, particularly on the knights. It would however be very

⁴¹ Daniela Gröger-Schiemann, *Die Deutschordensballei Utrecht während der Reformationszeit – die Landkommende Utrecht zwischen Rebellion und Staatsbildung* (PhD, University of Bochum 2009, supervised by Klaus Militzer). Also see: MOL, Johannes Adriaan, «Trying to Survive. The Military Orders in Utrecht, 1580-1620», in Johannes A. MOL / Klaus MILITZER / Helen J. NICHOLSON (ed.), *The military orders and the Reformation: choices, state building, and the weight of tradition* (Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, Balije van Utrecht 3), Hilversum 2006, p. 181-208

⁴² BELLOMO, Elena, *The Templar order in north-west Italy (1142 - c. 1330)* (The medieval Mediterranean 72), Leiden, 2008; DAMIEN CARRAZ, *L'ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône* (cf. note 10); OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, *A coroa, os mestres e os comendadores: as ordens militares de Avis e de Santiago (1330-1449)*, Faro, 2009. Prosopographical research of a different type lies at the heart of a further excellent and recent study: BURGTORF, Jochen, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: history, organization, and personnel (1099/1120 - 1310)* (History of warfare 50), Leiden, 2008.

⁴³ VOLGGER, Ewal, «Die Priester im Deutschen Orden», in Heinz NOFLATSCHER (ed.), *Der Deutsche Orden in Tirol: die Ballei an der Etsch und im Gebirge* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 43), Bozen 1991, p. 43-83; GLAUERT, Mario, «Vorbemerkungen zu einer Prosopographie der Priesterbrüder des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen», in Bernhart JÄHNIG (ed.), *Kirchengeschichtliche Probleme des Preussenlandes aus Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Tagungsberichte der Historischen Kommission für Ost- und Westpreussische Landesforschung 16), Marburg 2001, p. 103-130; ROMAN CZAJA, *Die städtische Geistlichkeit in den Auseinandersetzungen der preußischen Städte* (cf. note 39); GLAUERT, Mario, «Kirchen, Klöster und Spitäler zwischen Marienwerder und Rosenberg im Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Sakraltopographie und Prosopographie des Niederklerus im Deutschordensland Preußen», *Beiträge zur Geschichte Westpreußen*, 20/21, 2006 - 2008, p. 9-111.

worth while to determine, from which social strata the priests were recruited and which career options the orders offered them as clerics. Here again, prosopographical work would be important in order to trace patterns of horizontal and vertical mobility.

The same holds true for *donates*, *confratres* and other semi-religious men and women attached to the commanderies in the West. In the meantime, we know how important this element was as a hinge between the orders' houses on the one hand and the societies they were placed in on the other⁴⁴. If this holds true for the countryside, it is all the more valid for the towns. *Confratres* and *consorores*, semi-religious men and women established contacts between the convents and local elites, created networks of economic and political support, and helped transmit the respective order's features, including its spirituality, to wider strata of society. Although they did not take the three vows and were thus not personally tied to the obligations of the *paupertas Christi*, they still visibly belonged to the order – not least by token of the habit they wore. The heyday of the military orders semi-religious appears to have been the 12th century, but one also encounters them well into the 14th century. Well researched in Southern France and Aragon, such lay brothers and sisters were nevertheless a general phenomenon within the Latin West. Mariarosaria Salerno's and Kristian Toomaspoeg's recent editions of the Hospitaller Enquest of 1373 for Southern Italy for example provides new and fascinating data to underscore this point, and recent archaeological excavations at the Torre Alemanna close to Foggia suggests to the existence of communities of lay *confratres* in rural areas, too⁴⁵. Any social history of medieval military orders is incomplete without taking the institutions' dense semi-religious networks into account.

Investigation into this hazy sphere between the secular world and the convents has profited from the revival of interest in the diversity of medieval forms of religious life, of which the military religious orders were only one among many. A comparative approach to monastic history in general has been particularly fruitful in Italy and Germany, where

⁴⁴ Dominic SELWOOD, *Knights of the cloister* (cf. note 10), 115-142; OBERSTE, Jörg, «Donaten zwischen Kloster und Welt. Das Donatenwesen der religiösen Ritterorden in Südfrankreich und die Entwicklung der städtischen Frömmigkeitspraxis im 13. Jahrhundert», *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 29, 2002, p. 1-37; Jochen G. SCHENK, *Forms of lay association with the Order of the Temple* (cf. note 11); CARRAZ, Damien, «L'affiliation des laïcs aux commanderies templières et hospitalières de la basse vallée du Rhône (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)», in Anthony T. LUTTRELL / Francesco TOMMASI (ed.), *Religiones Militares. Contributi alla storia degli Ordini religioso-militari nel medioevo* (Biblioteca di Sacra Militia 2), Città del Castello 2008, p. 171-190; for a general overview see: ELM, Kaspar, «Vita regularis sine regula. Bedeutung, Rechtsstellung und Selbstverständnis des mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Semireligiosentums», in František ŠMAHEL (ed.), *Häresie und vorzeitige Reformation im Spätmittelalter* (Historisches Kolleg. Kolloquien 39), München 1998, p. 239-273.

⁴⁵ SALERNO, Mariarosaria / TOOMASPOEG, Kristian, *L'inchiesta pontificia del 1373 sugli Ospedalieri di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia* (Itineraria 10), Bari, 2008.

Vergleichende Ordensgeschichte became very much of a catchword towards the end of the 20th century. Giles Constable, Kaspar Elm and others have successfully attempted to situate the members of military orders in the wider framework of regular life in the middle ages⁴⁶. Thanks to such comparative research, one can not only assess the great importance of the lay element within the military orders, but also understand why this was the case. Many members of the military orders were technically speaking laymen and themselves lead a form of religious life which was closer to the *via tertia* of the semireligious than to that of most other orthodox modes of the Medieval *vita religiosa*. It is no coincidence that charitable work – the element of the *vita activa* most closely associated with lay confraternities – acquired and maintained such an important position for so many military orders. Furthermore, the brethren in their beginnings formed part of the poverty movement that lay at the heart of several novel forms of religious life in the 12th and 13th centuries⁴⁷. Thanks to much innovative work on the part of historians of medieval medicine and medical archaeologists, we now know much more about the social and scientific dimension the orders' charitable work had both in the Latin East and West⁴⁸.

The dire and difficult task of reconstructing social networks is also indispensable in order to complete our picture of the role women had for the military orders, lately rehabilitated through a fundamental anthology on the Hospitaller women edited by

⁴⁶ ELM, Kaspar, «Vergleichende Ordensforschung. Ein „Forschungsprojektschwerpunkt“ am Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin», *Jahrbuch der historischen Forschung* 1979, Stuttgart 1980, p. 47-49; ELM, Kaspar, «Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden. Forschungsstand und Forschungsprobleme», *Militia Christi e Crociata nei secoli XI-XIII. Atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 28 agosto - 1 settembre 1989* (Miscellanea del centro di studi medioevali. Scienze storiche 13), Milano 1992, p. 477-518; ELM, Kaspar, *Umbilicus mundi. Beiträge zur Geschichte Jerusalems, der Kreuzzüge, des Kapitels vom Hlg. Grab in Jerusalem und der Ritterorden* (Instrumenta canonissarum regularium Sancti Sepulcri 7), Sint-Kruis, 1998 – see the list of publications in FELTEN, Franz J. / JASPERT, Nikolas (ed.), *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berliner historische Studien 31 = Ordensstudien 13), Berlin, 1999, 961-978; CONSTABLE, Giles, *The reformation of the twelfth century [the Trevelyan lectures given at the University of Cambridge, 1985]*, Cambridge, 1996; CONSTABLE, Giles, *Crusaders and crusading in the twelfth century*, Farnham, 2008. Cf. also MELVILLE, Gert, «Nuove tendenze della storiografia monastica di area tedesca. Le ricerche di Dresda sulla strutture istituzionali degli ordini religiosi medievali», in Giancarlo ANDENNA (ed.), *Dove va la storiografia monastica in Europa?: temi e metodi di ricerca per lo studio della vita monastica e regolare in età medievale alle soglie del terzo millennio*, Milano 2001, p. 35-52.

⁴⁷ DAL PINO, Franco Andrea, «Scelte di povertà all'origine dei nuovi ordini religiosi dei secoli XII-XIV», in Accademia Tudertina (ed.), *La conversione alla povertà nell'Italia dei secoli XII-XIV: atti del XXVII convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 14 - 17 ottobre 1990* (Atti dei convegni dell'Accademia tudertina e del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale N.S., 4), Spoleto 1991, p. 53-125; Kaspar ELM, *Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden* (cf. note 46); TOMMASI, Francesco, «Pauperes commilitones Christi. Aspetti i problemi delle origini gerosolimitane», *"Militia Christi" e crociata nei secoli XI-XIII: atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio* (Scienze storiche 13), Milano 1992, p. 465 - 475.

⁴⁸ Benjamin Zeev KEDAR, *A twelfth-century description of the Jerusalem hospital* (cf. note 24); MITCHELL, Piers D., *Medicine in the Crusades: warfare, wounds, and the medieval surgeon*, Cambridge, 2004.

Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson⁴⁹. In Spain in particular, the pioneering work by Maria Echániz Sans on the Order of Santiago has not been followed up as one might have expected; Portugal in contrast can boast the recent contribution by Joel Mata⁵⁰. It is well known that women were relevant to the orders in a number of ways, as Helen Nicholson summarized not too long ago – as benefactors and founders of houses, as economic partners, as wives or other relatives of the brethren, as fully fledged religious, as semi-religious, and even as saints⁵¹. Most of these fields belong to the context of social history, although evidently other disciplines might be touched upon, too.

IV

The brethrens' proximity to the lay world also had its effect on the orders' self-image and culture. Lately, Alan Forey and José Marques had once again underlined how often the fighting members of the military orders were in fact illiterate⁵². Of course one can point out illustrious examples in order to prove the contrary: Juan Fernández de Heredia for the Hospitallers, Luís González de Guzmán for the Order of Calatrava, Juan de Zúñiga for the Order of Alcántara or Jorge Manrique for the Order of Santiago, to name only the

⁴⁹ LUTTRELL, Anthony / NICHOLSON, Helen J. (ed.), *Hospitaller women in the Middle Ages*, Aldershot, Hants, 2006.

⁵⁰ ECHÁNIZ SANS, María, *La mujeres de la orden militar de Santiago en la edad media*, Salamanca, 1992; DE AYALA MARTÍNEZ, Carlos, *Las Órdenes Militares hispánicas en la Edad Media: siglos XII - XV*, Madrid, 2003, 176-185; Enrique RODRÍGUEZ PICAUEA MATILLA, Monjes guerreros en los reinos hispánicos (cf. note 30), 313-318; for Portugal see: Luís Filipe, «Uma barregã régia, um mercador de Lisboa e as freiras de Santos», in Luís KRUS / Luís Filipe Simões Dias de OLIVEIRA / João Luís Inglés FONTES (ed.), *Lisboa Medieval. Os rostos da cidade*, Lisboa 2007, p. 182-196; OLIVERIA, Luís Filipe, «O mosteiro de Santos, as freiras de Santiago e o culto dos mártires», *Olhares sobre a história. Estudos oferecidos a Iria Gonçalves*, Lisboa 2009, p. 429-436; MATA, Joel Silva Ferreira, *A comunidade feminina da Ordem de Santiago: a comenda de santos em finais do século XV e no século XVI: um estudo religioso, económico e social* (Militarium ordinum analecta 9), Porto, 2007.

⁵¹ FOREY, Alan, «Women and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries», *Studia Monastica*, 29, 1987, p. 63-92; NICHOLSON, Helen J., «The military orders and their relations with women», in Zsolt HUNYADI / József LASZLOVSKY (ed.), *The crusades and the military orders. Expanding the frontiers of medieval Latin christianity*, Budapest 2001, p. 407-414; NICHOLSON, Helen J., «Women in Templar and Hospitaller Commanderies», in Léon PRESSOUYRE / Anthony T. LUTTRELL (ed.), *La commanderie. Institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval* (Mémoires de la Section d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art 14), Paris 2002, p. 125-134; CARRAZ, Damien, «Présences et dévotions féminines autour des commanderies du Bas-Rhône (XIIe-XIIIe siècle)», *Les ordres religieux militaires dans le Midi (XIIe-XIVe siècle)* (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 41), Toulouse 2006, p. 71-99; Anthony LUTTRELL/Helen J. NICHOLSON, *Hospitaller women in the Middle Ages* (cf. note 49).

⁵² FOREY, Alan John, «Literacy and learning in the military orders during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries», in Helen NICHOLSON / Malcolm BARBER (ed.), *The Military Orders. Volume 2. Welfare and Warfare*, Hampshire 1998, p. 185-206.

most important Iberian names. But a close reading of booklists from convents in many European countries shows that on a general level, the brethrens' learning and interests were rather limited. Their liking for narrative texts in general and for tales of chivalry in particular are telling of their social background, as recent research into the libraries of the Teutonic Order has convincingly demonstrated⁵³.

The military orders' own historiography in turn is an important case study for medieval religious institutions' treatments of their own past and for the construction of a collective memory, as Jaroslaw Wenta and Philippe Josserand have recently shown for the Teutonic Order and the Spanish Orders in Castile respectively⁵⁴. The Iberian Orders in the Crown of Aragón still hold potential in this line of research to my way of thinking. Such narrative texts may also reflect social tensions within the military orders and their need to reaffirm their own position. An unedited work that Hubert Houben has recently called our attention to – Codex Vaticanus Ottobonianus Latinus 528, written around 1335 by a member of the Teutonic order named Ulrich – is a good example for an attempt to underline a military order's supposedly purely religious *raison d'être* at times when reality showed was rather different; and Pierre Bonneaud has lately demonstrated the social upheavals that Hospitaller regulations barring non-nobles from admission as milites had within and without the Order of Saint John⁵⁵.

Artistic patronage would not target the priests and associated semireligious as much as the orders' knightly brethren. Consequently, it laid particular emphasis on aristocratic modes of behaviour and representation. A social perspective on cultural activities and cultural patronage situates the knightly members of the military religious orders in the wider social context of the chivalric and aristocratic culture of the late Middle Ages. Recent research on the chivalric orders of knighthood have underlined these institutions' cultural significance and their network-character, and Werner Paravicini's important

⁵³ MENTZEL-REUTERS, Arno, *Arma spiritualia: Bibliotheken, Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Orden* (Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen 47), Wiesbaden, 2003; CZAJA, Roman / SARNOWSKY, Jürgen (ed.), *Die Rolle der Schriftlichkeit in den geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters: innere Organisation, Sozialstruktur, Politik* (Ordines militares 15), Toruń, 2009.

⁵⁴ SARNOWSKY, Jürgen, «Das historische Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden», *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 110, 1999, p. 315-330; WENTA, Jaroslaw, *Studien über die Ordensgeschichtsschreibung am Beispiel Preußens* (Subsidia historiographica 2), Toruń, 2000; Philippe JOSSERAND, *Eglise et pouvoir dans la péninsule ibérique* (cf. note 11), p. 76-96, 140-163.

⁵⁵ HOUBEN, Hubert, «Eine Quelle zum Selbstverständnis des Deutschen Ordens im 14. Jahrhundert: Der Codex Vat. Ottobon. lat. 528», in Roman CZAJA / Jürgen SARNOWSKY (ed.), *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden* (Ordines Militares. Colloquia Turonensia Historica 13), Toruń 2005, p. 139-153; BONNEAUD, Pierre (ed.), *Regulations concerning the reception of Hospitaller milites in the first half of the fifteenth century* (The Military Orders 4), Aldershot, Hampshire, 2008.

study on the Preußenreisen to the Teutonic Order State has shown how important such phenomena as knightly mobility and ritual were to some military orders⁵⁶. Similar research has been conducted on the Hospitallers on Rhodes and on the Iberian military orders, but the cultural and social interface between military religious orders and chivalric orders of knighthood in the late middle ages still requires research⁵⁷.

V

A major task for the future remains the editing of sources. This is of course relevant to all disciplines of historical research, but also for social history. All in all, the Iberian military orders, the Teutonic Order and the Order of St John's late medieval history undoubtedly offer the greatest potential as far as this question is concerned. Here one should single out the great work done in recent years by our Portuguese colleagues under the auspices of Luis Adão da Fonseca, who have published an important amount of records in the *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*⁵⁸. The bulk of future work will of course still be the editing of charter material, which might arguably be the type of documentation most promising to the social historian. The Iberian Peninsula in particular still holds important amounts of unedited private charters. But then, there are other, less abundant records of great relevance. Anne-Marie Legras' project of editing the enquête of 1373 for example has not yet been terminated, in spite of work by Raffaele Iorio and Giuseppe Avarucci and the edition by Mariarosaria Salerno and Kristian Toomaspoeg just mentioned⁵⁹. The conclusion of such older projects is only one open task. One might also

⁵⁶ PARAVICINI, Werner, *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels*, 2 vols. (Beihefte der Francia 17), Sigmaringen, 1989/1995.

⁵⁷ NOWAK, Zenon Hubert (ed.), *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der mittelalterlichen Kultur* (Ordines militares 3), Toruń, 1985; WALDSTEIN-WARTENBERG, Berthold, *Die Vasallen Christi: Kulturgeschichte des Johanniterordens im Mittelalter*, Wien, 1988; SARNOWSKY, Jürgen, «Geistliche Ritterorden», in Peter DINZELBACHER / James Lester HOGG (ed.), *Kulturgeschichte der christlichen Orden in Einzeldarstellungen* (Kröners Taschenausgabe 450), Stuttgart 1997, p. 329-348; RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan Simon Christopher, «Towards a history of military-religious order», in Karl BORCHARDT / Nikolas JASPERT / Helen J. NICHOLSON (ed.), *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, Aldershot, 2007, p. 269-284.

⁵⁸ To date 12 volumes.

⁵⁹ LEGRAS, Anne-Marie, *L'enquête dans le prieuré de France* (Documents, études et répertoires/Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes 34), Paris, 1987; IORIO, Raffaele, *L'inchiesta di papa Gregorio XI sugli Ospedalieri della Diocesi di Trani*, Taranto, 1996; AVARUCCI, Giuseppe, «L'inchiesta papale del 1373 sull'Ordine Gerosolimitano. Il processo verbale della precettoria di Fermo, in Istituzioni e società nelle Marche (secoli XIV-XV)», *Istituzioni e società nelle Marche (secc. XIV - XV); atti del convegno, Ancona - Camerino - Ancona, 1 - 2 - 3 ottobre 1998* (Atti e memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Marche 103), Ancona 2000, p. 445-477; Mariarosaria SALERNO/Kristian TOOMASPOEG, *L'inchiesta pontificia del 1373* (cf. note 45).

consider intensifying our efforts to edit hitherto neglected types of documentation. In what follows, three such genera will be singled out which appear to be both promising and still underestimated.

First the orders' statutory sources. Anthony Luttrell recently and quite rightly called our attention to the necessity of publishing these texts for the Order of Saint John⁶⁰. Jürgen Sarnowsky has lately undertaken this work for both the Latin and the French version from 1493, and a recent Franco-Spanish edition of a group of Provençal statutes shows a path research might and should take.⁶¹ However, many of the early texts – to be exact: far over 39 prior to 1495 – still remain unpublished. The same holds true for the *estatutos* and *definiciones* on the Iberian Peninsula, despite Joseph O'Callaghan's pioneering articles and Philippe Josserand's work on the Order of Alcántara and his edition of Pelayo Pérez Correa's *establecimientos* for the Order of Santiago⁶². Finally, our Portuguese colleagues have furthered our knowledge by their editions of the Portuguese Order of Santiago's normative texts⁶³. Such editions present a necessary backdrop for comparative studies which juxtapose the norms represented by statutory texts with the more concrete rulings of provincial chapters.

Second visitations. Marian Biskup's recently presented source collection for the Teutonic Order, Dominique Moullot's edition of the Hospitaller's *Liber prioratus Urbi*, or the visitations of the Portuguese Order of Santiago of the 16th century edited a decade ago show the path to be followed and extended⁶⁴. Visitations conducted by local bishops

⁶⁰ LUTTRELL, Anthony T., «The hospitallers' early statutes», *Revue Mabillon Ser. NS*, 14, 2003, p. 9-22.

⁶¹ BONNET, Marie Rose / CIÉRBIDE MARTINENA, Ricardo (ed.), *Estatutos de la orden de San Juan de Jerusalén: edición crítica de los manuscritos occitanos, s. XIV = Les statuts de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem: édition critique des manuscrits en langue d'oc, XIVe siècle*, Bilbao, 2006; HASECKER, Jyri / SARNOWSKY, Jürgen, *Stabilimenta Rhodiorum militum: die Statuten des Johanniterordens von 1489/93* (Nova mediaevalia 1), Göttingen, 2007.

⁶² O'CALLAGHAN, Joseph F., «Las definiciones medievales de la Orden de Montesa (1326-1468)», *Miscelánea de textos medievales*, 1, 1972, p. 213-251; O'CALLAGHAN, Joseph F., «Las Definiciones de la Orden de Calatrava, 1383-1418», *En la España medieval*, 19, 1996, p. 99-124; JOSSERAND, Philippe, «Pour une étude systématique de la documentation statutaire des Ordres Militaires. Deux manuscrits des "definiciones" inédites d'Alcántara au début du XIVe siècle», *En la España medieval*, 20, 1997, p. 321-338; Philippe JOSSERAND, *Eglise et pouvoir dans la péninsule ibérique* (cf. note 11), p. 833-850.

⁶³ BARBOSA, Isabel Maria do Lago: *A Ordem de Santiago em Portugal na baixa Idade Média: normativa e prática*, Porto, 1989; BARBOSA, Isabel Maria do Lago, «A normativa da ordem de Santiago: uma memória peninsular», in Isabel Cristina Ferreira FERNANDES (ed.), *As ordens militares em Portugal e no sul da Europa: actas do II Encontro sobre Ordens Militares, Palmela, 2, 3 e 4 de Outubro de 1992* (Coleção Actas colóquios 10), Lisboa 1997, p. 65-72.

⁶⁴ CASTELO-BRANCO, Manuel da Silva, «Visitações na ordem de Cristo até finais do século XVI», in Isabel Cristina Ferreira FERNANDES (ed.), *As ordens militares em Portugal e no sul da Europa: actas do II Encontro sobre Ordens Militares, Palmela, 2, 3 e 4 de Outubro de 1992* (Coleção Actas colóquios 10), Lisboa 1997, p. 407-430;

within their dioceses can furnish further findings despite the orders' exemptions and privileges. The visitations are typologically comparable to the records of the Templar trial. There is no need to underline the great worth these proceedings conferred to the social historian of the Military Orders⁶⁵. Sad as the fate of the Templars might be, from the standpoint of a social historian and mediaevalist one can only be grateful for their fall – and for the eminently juridical manner it was brought about –, as the interrogations and inventories generated source material unknown for other orders.

Third, administrative and financial sources. Jürgen Sarnowsky has shown how much can be gained by investigating this type of documentation also on the level of social history, but his exemplar has not been followed to a great extent on an international level. Research could greatly profit from methodological questions raised in several projects dedicated to what the Germans call “pragmatic literacy” – *pragmatische Schriftlichkeit*, a term that comprises registers, inventories and similar types of records; the last meeting at Toruń has shown the potential of this approach for the orders' social history⁶⁶. A project on the Teutonic Order's *Schäffereirechnungen* of the Marienburg is already underway, and future studies might finally succeed in setting the vexed question of the *responsiones* on more solid ground.

In order to conduct such research, specific archival and bibliographic aids would be extremely useful. Sadly, handbooks to the sources and documents pertinent to each military order are still a desideratum. This could well be a major project for the future after the conclusion of the *Dictionnaire européen des orders militaires au moyen age*: a series of resource handbooks for the military religious orders, an “Inventory of the Archival Sources of the Military Orders”. Each volume could cover one European country and contain references to all archival holdings of documents concerning the history of the

BISKUP, Marian (ed.), *Visitationen im Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 10,1), Marburg, 2002; ARNOLD, Udo / BISKUP, Marian / JANOSZ-BISKUPOWA, Irena (ed.), *Visitationen im Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 10,2), Marburg, 2004; MOULLOT, Dominique, *Le Liber Prioratus Urbis de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem*, Bari, 2004; ARNOLD, Udo, «Die Schriftlichkeit des Deutschen Ordens am Beispiel der Visitationen», in Roman CZAJA / Jürgen SARNOWSKY (ed.), *Die Rolle der Schriftlichkeit in den geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters: innere Organisation, Sozialstruktur, Politik* (Ordines militares 15), Toruń 2009, p. 7-38.

⁶⁵ GILMOUR-BRYSON, Anne (ed.), *The trial of the Templars in Cyprus: a complete English edition* (The medieval Mediterranean 17), Leiden, 1998; NICHOLSON, Helen J., *The Knights Templar on trial: the trial of the Templars in the British Isles*, Stroud, 2009; BURGTORF, Jochen / CRAWFORD, Paul / NICHOLSON, Helen (ed.), *The debate on the trial of the Templars, (1307-1314)*, Burlington, VT, 2010.

⁶⁶ KELLER, Hagen (ed.), *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Mittelalter: Erscheinungsformen und Entwicklungsstufen* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 65), München, 1992; Roman CZAJA/Jürgen SARNOWSKY, *Die Rolle der Schriftlichkeit in den geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters* (cf. note 53).

military orders. Such an inventory would indeed enormously facilitate tracking down documentation and initialising specific research projects. The congress hosted on *Gli archivi per la storia del Sovrano militare Ordine di Malta* heads in this direction⁶⁷. Zsolt Hunyadi and Libor Jan in turn are working on a project dedicated to collecting references to all extant seals of the Hospitaller houses in the Roman-German Empire⁶⁸. The time is ripe for such disperse information to be brought together.

Such work is best accomplished in cooperation with colleagues. The same might also be said of future source editions. In this field, the use of new technologies could well enhance and facilitate international research, as some recent projects demonstrate.⁶⁹ Jürgen Sarnowsky's *Virtuelle Preußische Urkundenbuch* and particularly his "Hospitaller Sources" are a case in point – growing online editions of invaluable source material for the history of the Baltic and the Hospitallers on Rhodes respectively⁷⁰. The new media offers the scientific community the opportunity to improve an edition by comments and corrections while it is in the making, academic criticism can be included in time and thus becomes truly effective and helpful. Why not indulge in further utopian thoughts? So many local and regional studies on the religious military orders contain references to the latter's individual members. There is a multitude of obscure lives that can never be pieced together into individual biographies but might very well serve to discern patterns of relations. A main prerequisite for conducting social studies into the history of the military orders – a point this paper has repeatedly underlined – is sound prosopographical information. But how can such prosopographical data be acquired?

Jochen Burgtorf's monumental study on the Templars' and Hospitallers' officials shows how far an individual can get by painstakingly putting together disperse informational titbits: The impressive biographical lists at the end of his monograph are the base for his fundamental prosopographical chapter on social and spatial mobility, career patterns and career opportunities⁷¹. But of course, the leading Templar and Hospitaller officials within the respective Central Convents are only a small portion of the general picture, and limited

⁶⁷ FONSECA, Cosimo Damiano / D'ANGELA, Cosimo (ed.), *Gli archivi per la storia del Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta: atti del III Convegno Internazionale di Studi Melitensi, Taranto, 18 - 21 ottobre 2001* (Melitensia 13), Taranto, 2005

⁶⁸ For the time being see: HUNYADI, Zsolt, *The Hospitallers in the medieval kingdom of Hungary, c. 1150 - 1387* (METEM könyvek 13), Budapest, 2010, p. 203-216.

⁶⁹ Barbara Frale's *Archivium audientiarum processus contra Ordinem Militiae Templi*, an electronic archive of the Templar Trial, does not appear to be online yet.

⁷⁰ <http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/Landesforschung/orden.html> – <http://www.hospitallers.uni-hamburg.de/>

⁷¹ Jochen BURGTORF, *The Central Convent of Hospitalers and Templars* (cf. note 42), p. 461-695.

to these two orders at that. A similarly exhaustive compilations has recently been presented by Luís Felipe Oliveira for The Orders of Avís and Santiago⁷².

Why not unite efforts and use the work which has already been published? There is a treasure of potentially prosopographical material completely dispersed in a myriad of publications or hidden away in private files – mosaic stones which hitherto cannot be connected to form a complete picture. This appears a rewarding project for a collaborative, synoptic effort. An international online database of the military orders' brethren could solve many a problem – an open site, in which historians or other specialists, after duly identifying themselves, would be able to enter names and references to members of the military orders. This would truly be an initiative worthy of European funding, and it would not even be too expensive to upkeep. The result would be an invaluable tool that would facilitate prosopographical studies and research into recruitment and career structures. Such a prosopographical database of the military orders would be most helpful in order to reconstruct the various networks this short introduction has dealt with: on a horizontal level the fluid, international networks of mobile knights moving between single houses and headquarters; the social networks between the houses individual members – knights, sergeants, female religious, priests, semi-religious – and the societies from which they stemmed; the vertical networks between the orders members and officials; and many networks more. Ultimately, superimposing such networks might enable us to discern nodes of communication and hubs of institutional dynamics – thus advancing from a description of social ties to a true network analysis of the military orders. Such an aim might still be far off, but not impossible to achieve.

⁷² Luís Felipe OLIVEIRA, *A coroa, os mestres e os comendadores: as ordens militares de Avis e de Santiago* (cf. note 42).